



"I know what I have to encounter; I know that I shall be told that I have been *praising* Sir FRANCIS BURDETT for several years; I know that this will be flung in my face for a long while; I know that even those who hate him will join him against me; I know that it will take a long time to deprive him of the popularity which he once merited, and which he merits no longer; I know that that base part of the public, who think it an honour to be numbered amongst his adherents, merely because he has twenty thousand acres of land, will adhere to him more closely than ever, and will most grossly abuse me for my exposure of him; I am fully aware of all his craftiness, and of all his great talent at deception; and I well know that it will take years before he will be seen by the public in his true light, and before he will be pulled down to his just level. But I know also, that if a thing be not *begun* it never can be *done*; and, therefore, I am now going to make a *beginning* upon him."
—Register, written in Long Island, 21. July, 1817.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM AND MANCHESTER, AND TO ALL OUR FRIENDS IN THE NORTH, SCOTLAND ALWAYS INCLUDED.

Normandy, 28. November, 1832.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Tired of lecturing and speaking and jolting and sitting up till twelve o'clock at night, I have been resolved to be, for a short time, at any rate, at a distance from all the rattlings of those coaches, the wheels of which are quite sufficient to make noise enough to gratify the cormorant appetite of WAITHMAN and such-like politicians; and from all the turmoil and strife of politics; I have resolved to come to this country, that I might have a more distant, yet

more distinct and enlarged view of all the subjects which are now in agitation; just as men get upon a hill when they want to see the relative bearings of all the mansions, homesteads, meadows, woods, and arable land, spread about over the valley below. For these reasons, here I am in NORMANDY; not, however, that NORMANDY from which the GRENVILLES and the GRINDSTONES (now called VERULAMS), and the BASSETS (now called DUNSTAN VILLES), and the rest of those people, who, in their pedigrees, published in the PEERAGE, insultingly tell us, "THAT THEY CAME IN WITH THE CONQUEROR," and who may very reasonably be asked, why they did not go out with the CONQUEROR; not that NORMANDY, my friends, but the *titling* of NORMANDY, in the parish of Asa, in the county of Surrey, the church of which parish is just about four miles and a half from the sand-hill, rolling down which constituted a considerable portion of my education; the rolling, however, being associated with the very edifying pursuits of whipping efts about amongst the heath, and finding out rabbit's nests and taking the young ones; I having the misfortune to begin my life before the "schoolmaster got abroad," to teach us to write in the sand, and to sing in heavenly tune the "*Magdalen Hymn*," "*God save the King*," "*The Apostles' Creed*," and the "*Pence Table*," all which I heard the little "*antalluctal*" beings bawling out in *Bolt-court* last Saturday. Half maddened by the sound; irritated at the chattering, gabbling, senseless sounds of the WEN, I started up and exclaimed: "Go and get me a place in the coach; for I am resolved not to endure this any longer." "It is too late, sir: the coach is gone." "Go and get me hack, cab, cart, dray, wheelbarrow, get me something to convey me away from these maddening sounds!" After coming from the sensible people in the North, to be

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compelled to endure the botheration, the senseless gabble, by which I was half stunned, seemed to me to be a punishment, not only too great to be endured in case of necessity, but too great to be described. It was towards evening, and, therefore, I took a place in the coach for the next morning, and off I came, with a resolution to have a few days' *respite*, at any rate. And here I am, looking out of the window of a farm-house, upon a green common, inhabited by sensible cows, sheep, and geese; and, with the satisfaction to reflect, that I am five-and-thirty miles distant from the sound, the pious sound, of "*God save the King*," and the "*Pence Table*," by no means excepting that of the "*Magdalen Hymn*," which, however, really haunts me; and, about four o'clock this morning, waked up by a sort of monotonous sounds, I suddenly started up in my bed; and, from having changed beds so frequently of late, and it being dark, scarcely knowing where I was, I thought that it had been "*God save the King*" that had saluted my ear. But sitting a little while preparing myself for resignation to my fate, the sounds from half a dozen voices (responsive to each other) were renewed. "Oh! God be praised, it is the crowing of cocks!" Down I lay again, relieved from all my alarm; and here I am thus removed from the scene of noise and of nonsense, to address you upon the important subject of the WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

If, my friends, this coming election, affected nobody but the people of WESTMINSTER, it would not deserve all that attention which I am desirous that you should pay to it. It would deserve great attention under any circumstances, seeing how great the number of electors is; seeing how industrious the far greater part of them are; and seeing the weight which must necessarily under all circumstances be attached to the example of so great, so populous, and so opulent a city. Under ordinary circumstances, this election would, therefore, be a matter of great importance; but, under the present peculiar circumstances, it is a matter of the

very greatest importance to the people of WESTMINSTER, who are now going to decide, in the most solemn manner, upon A GREAT POLITICAL PRINCIPLE: they are now going to exhibit to the whole kingdom a proof that the people of this kingdom, either are, or are not, to be duped by fraudulent contrivances, or to be overawed by impudent aristocratic pretension.

In order to convey to you, in the clearest manner that I am capable of doing it, my account of the state of this struggle, and my opinions with regard to the conduct of the electors, as far as they have hitherto gone, and of what ought to be their conduct in future, it will be necessary for me, even before I proceed to describe to you that which took place on Monday the 26., at BURDETT and HOBHOUSE's meeting of electors; even before I do that, it will be necessary for me to give you a succinct history of the elections and members for WESTMINSTER, from the time that BURDETT began to be a member for that city. This is quite necessary, in order that you may see how he has worked the thing along until the present day: how he has continued to keep a seat, of which he has been wholly unworthy ever since the year 1816; and to show you his real motive for now making it a point, making it a *sine qua non*, a neck-or-nothing, that HOBHOUSE shall be the other member. After I have inserted an account of the present proceedings, I will add my observations and state my opinions; but first of all, it is necessary for me to give you a plain history of BURDETT's connexion with WESTMINSTER down to the present time; down to this moment, when that virtuous and spirited people seem bent upon recovering their lost reputation. Pray, my friends, look at the motto to this *Register*; you see, that it was fifteen years ago when I set about the work of demolishing this false pretender's false reputation: you see, that I was well aware of the time that it would require to accomplish the object; and of the great difficulties that I had to encounter. Nevertheless, I then began; and, now, before this struggle be over, every man

of *sense*; every man of understanding; and of *information* upon this subject, who deserves to remain *unchanged*, will be of my opinion, and will act upon that opinion. *Events*, as I told him from the very first; *events*, as I told him, would finally put him to the *test*; would finally drag him up to the bar of public opinion, at which bar he would be sure to stand condemned. Those events have come. In one of his quaint and rubbishy addresses, in 1818, he said, that he had been for many years "trying to find a public." "Poor man," said I at the time, "you will find one by-and-by." He found one round the hustings at COVENT-GARDEN, in 1830, when he and HOBHOUSE were returned "*without any opposition*," but with being pelted off the hustings with cabbages and turnips; and he "found a public" again, even on his old dunghill, the *Crown and Anchor* in the Strand, on Monday last, the 26. instant, a full account of the proceedings of which day I shall insert, after having given the history of which I have spoken above; and which history I now proceed to give.

Until the year 1806 an election for WESTMINSTER had been, for many years, a mere boroughmonger farce. The two factions had agreed together, each to put in its man. Fox was the man of the WHIG faction, and an Admiral GARDINER, who became an Irish peer, and was called Lord GARDINER, had been the man of the TORIES. The Parliament was dissolved when it was about three years old, soon after the Whigs came into office, late in October, 1806. They wanted a Parliament of their own, and therefore they got rid of ADDINGTON's Parliament, which had been transferred to PITT, and had one chosen for themselves, early in November, 1806. But there had just been an election for WESTMINSTER, on account of the death of Fox. Upon which occasion the Whigs put up Lord PERCY, the present great ambassador and lord-lieutenant, Duke of Northumberland. That base fellow, SHERIDAN, put himself up as the lineal political descendant of Fox; but his party seemed to have thought that that

was a little *too bad*; and, besides, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND of that day had *six or seven seats*, which were not things for the Whigs to disregard. They therefore made the old sot, SHERIDAN, give up his *hereditary right*! PERCY was elected; but at this time I had begun to rouse the electors of WESTMINSTER; and, in twenty-three letters which I addressed to them in the *Register*, the first letter in the *Register* of the 9. of August, 1806, I made them clearly see all the villanies of the two political factions; and, as Lord GREY told to a man who told it me again, I "destroyed the character of all *public men*;" for this is the appellation taken to themselves by all those vermin who plunder us. Certainly, I did "*destroy*" their power to rob us any longer, without the robbery being perceived. PERCY was *elected*, but amidst the hisses of the people of WESTMINSTER; and, for my part, I know of no disgrace to surpass what he had to endure at his *chairing*, except, perhaps, the disgrace endured by BURDETT and HOBHOUSE, at the cabbage and turnip election of 1830. The Parliament had not the advantage of listening to the SOLON-like suggestions of PERCY, for it was dissolved, almost immediately after his election; and then there was another election to take place.

At this election, which, as I said before, took place early in the month of November, 1806, PERCY was not a candidate. The indignation of the people had been raised so high against him at the former election, he had so narrowly escaped an overwhelming shower of mud and addled eggs at his chairing, when *de la matière fécale* actually, in one instance, saluted his lordly dress; PERCY had had such a foretaste of that which was to come, and had seen such preparations making for another *bout*, that he very prudently declined being a candidate; and the two factions came to an agreement, the Whigs to put up SHERIDAN, and the Tories to put up Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD. The electors were roused by this time to a sense of the indignity offered them by these two factions, and



a large body of them proposed to bring forward Mr. PAULL, who was a Scotchman, who had been in India, who had been in Parliament during two sessions, who had brought articles of charge against the elder WELLESLEY for his conduct while Governor-General of India, who was a little man in point of height and size, who talked pretty well, who wrote better than one-half of the six hundred and fifty-eight, who was perfectly honest and disinterested, and who was brave to the back-bone, and persevering beyond any man that I have ever known in my life. The Whigs had all along been deceiving this Mr. PAULL, as they always have done every one else who has trusted in them. They, by leading him to believe that they would support his charges against old WELLESLEY, induced him to go on with the charges *until they themselves got into power, and then they turned against him*, and set all their whispering myrmidons to work to spread about *that he had been a tailor*, and that he was only accusing Lord WELLESLEY in order to get some money from him. I became acquainted with Mr. PAULL, from his having been introduced to me by Mr. WINDHAM, who strongly urged me to render him any assistance in my power in his undertaking against WELLESLEY; and I can truly say, that a more disinterested and honourable man I never knew in my life.

At this election, therefore, Mr. PAULL was fixed upon for us to put forward, in order to break up the infamous combination of these two factions, and to rescue WESTMINSTER from the disgrace of submitting to them any longer. This was *my work*: it was my own project: I paved the way to it by my addresses to the people of WESTMINSTER: I was the proposer of it in the meetings that were held upon the occasion; and BURDETT had no more to do in the deliverance of WESTMINSTER from the joint hands of the boroughmongers, than he had to do with making the great crops of apples this last autumn; and we shall see, presently, what an infamous part he acted, in order to get in for WESTMINSTER himself, and to keep out this

brave little Scotchman. This is amongst the most shameful acts of his life. He talk of *foul play* on the part of Colonel EVANS! we shall see, by-and-by, what *his play was* with regard to Mr. PAULL. However, observe, I am anticipating here; for what I am now speaking of took place at the election of the *next year*, when the Whigs were turned out, and when PERCEVAL came in. I am first to speak of *the election in November, 1806*. HOOD was the *Tory* candidate; SHERIDAN the *Whig* candidate, having WHITBREAD and PETER MOORE for his bottle-holders. They *beat the people*; but it was such a beat as pronounced their doom for the future, as far as WESTMINSTER was concerned. But, at the close of the election, HOOD and the base SHERIDAN slipped away from the hustings into the church of St. PAUL, COVENT-GARDEN, just opposite the porch of which the hustings stood, and there they were locked up nearly all the night, with constables and policemen to guard the church. It is curious that SHERIDAN and HOOD should have been driven off, in 1806, just as BURDETT and HOBHOUSE were driven off in 1830. The latter scene was in exact imitation of the former, except in as far as the *weather* made a difference: the latter being in *August*, the "*constituents*" were driven to the use of cabbages and turnips; but the former being in *November*, there was a plentiful supply of mud, with which the honourable representatives were covered all over from the forehead down to their shoes. I never shall forget them. They looked just like a couple of rats, raked up from the bottom of a sewer; and the High Bailiff and his books and his clerks and his beadles were all covered over in the same manner.

But, the most curious circumstance belonging to this election, and the most useful to be borne in mind at this time, is this, that *both the factions*, though desperately at war with each other; though more desperate against each other than they ever had been before, or have been since; though thus ready to tear each other to pieces, *most cordially united* in order to prevent the peo-

ple from having a voice. This is so valuable a fact; it so fully confirms all that has ever been said upon the subject of these unions, that I will cite the *proof* of it. After the election was over, it was thought proper, by the friends of reform, that there should be a solemn record as to the manner in which Mr. PAULL had been defeated. For this purpose a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 19. of November, of which meeting Major CARTWRIGHT was the chairman. At this meeting, seven resolutions were passed, the fourth of which was in the following words:

"FOURTHLY, That Mr. PAULL has
"polled four thousand four hundred and
"eighty-one votes of free and inde-
"pendent electors of Westminster, of
"which 3,077 have been whole votes
"or plumpers; while Mr. SHERIDAN
"has polled only 955 whole votes,
"and Sir SAMUEL HOOD only 1,033;
"and that from the coalition of these
"latter candidates, we find that they
"each polled 3,240 split votes."

Now, reformers of the North, keep your eye upon these villanous factions, and you will find them playing just the same game over again during the next elections: you will find them everywhere combining and conspiring to aid each other against the people, and indeed you see the base ruffians of Whigs now combining with the Tories to oust Mr. HUME from Middlesex. This struggle it was, and not anything done by BURDETT; it was this famous struggle, of which I was the inventor, and in which I was the principal actor, that broke up the power of the combined factions in Westminster. How that famous city, having got rid of the fangs of the tiger, fell into those of the wolf, and became just as much the slave of BURDETT as it had been of the combined factions, we shall presently see. The next election was caused by another dissolution, when the Parliament was *little more than six months old*. The double-dealing of the Whigs, in the case of the poor Princess of Wales, had enabled PERCEVAL to oust them; and then they wanted a

Parliament of their own. Now, then, was the time to bring in Mr. PAULL. At a dinner, at which Major CARTWRIGHT was the chairman, and which took place immediately after the preceding election, the following was one of the toasts:

"Mr. PAULL.—Thanks to him for
"having given us an opportunity of
"exercising our franchises, and of de-
"monstrating our indignation at a
"proscription pronounced by a minister
"against an upright member of Parlia-
"ment."

At the meeting of the electors on the 19. of November, the last resolution agreed to was as follows:

"SEVENTHLY, That for this glorious
"triumph, and for the fair prospect of
"better days which it presents to us,
"we are chiefly indebted to the inte-
"grity and perseverance of Mr. PAULL,
"unto whom, therefore, we, in this
"public manner, express our warmest
"gratitude, and declare our *unalterable*
"attachment."

Well, then, *now* was the time to show this *unalterable attachment*! and the people were ready to show it; but the crafty and selfish BURDETT, plotting the thing with HORNE TOOKE; pretending at first that he did not want to be elected, and consenting, at last, only on condition that he should be put up independently of PAULL, who stood in absolute need of a subscription to aid him; and to have attempted to carry whom, except jointly with BURDETT, would have let in SHERIDAN and a Tory candidate again; in consequence of this, Mr. PAULL, who had been the real instrument in setting WESTMINSTER free, lost his election, and lost his life into the bargain! At the former election, BURDETT had been extremely anxious to cause PAULL to triumph over SHERIDAN and HOOD. He was *chairman* at the meeting of the electors, on the 30. of October, 1806, when the following resolution was put by him and passed unanimously:

"IV. That in the Parliamentary conduct
"of Mr. PAULL, we have observed a
"constant attention to his duty, a *strict*

“adherence to every promise made to the public, a virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and speculators, an inflexible perseverance in the prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations by which so many other men have been seduced to betray their trust; and that upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon us, collectively and individually, to use all the legal means within our power to secure his election, and therein to do all that rests with us to preserve our country from a fate similar to that of so many European states, which have fallen an easy conquest to the enemy, only because the people had neither property nor liberty to defend.”

This resolution was proposed by BURDETT, and carried without a dissenting voice. Why, then, not stand with Mr. PAULL now, when the reformers of WESTMINSTER were able and ready to carry both. Why, PAULL was far too good and efficient a man; he was too sincere a reformer, and BURDETT very well knew, that he would drag him along against his will. PAULL, who had spent pretty nearly all his money at the former election, was unable, without a subscription, to carry on a contest against Lord COCHRANE, ELLIOT, and SHERIDAN, the two former having plenty of money of their own, and the latter supported by the great purses of the Whigs. The election cost Lord COCHRANE not less than twelve thousand pounds; there was no possibility of raising a quarter part of the sum for Mr. PAULL; and BURDETT, finding that it was impossible to carry PAULL, except in conjunction with him, refused, in accordance with the advice of the malignant old HORNE TOOKE, to be considered as a candidate in conjunction with PAULL. So that the electors were reduced to the necessity of seeing the two factions triumph again, or to carry BURDETT to the exclusion of PAULL; and this, observe, merely because BURDETT was afraid to see his laziness and insincerity placed in immediate contrast with the activity, energy, and sincerity of Mr. PAULL. This, as is well known, led to

a duel, which ended in the wounding of BURDETT and in the death of PAULL.

Seldom has there been known a more base transaction than this was on the part of BURDETT; but, what part did I, then, act at this time? Why, I acted no part at all. Burdett, in his second letter to Colonel Evans, tells the most impudent and fraudulent falsehood that ever was uttered by mortal man. He says, that the people of Westminster elected him *while he was confined to his bed*, and without his knowing anything at all about the matter. He forgets that I am alive, and that he and his understrappers made use of every artifice that they could resort to, in order to induce me to come into their views of excluding Mr. Paull. He forgets that, having exhausted my arguments against the exclusion of PAULL; having staid till I saw that the thing was resolved upon, and then left, before the election began, and never stirred from Botley until after it was over, resolving to do no one act, at any rate, to countenance any proceeding hostile to Mr. PAULL. My Lord Cochrane, in a very candid manner, applied to me for my aid; and his Lordship will recollect, that I refused it, notwithstanding my great respect for him; because, though the case of Mr. Paull was desperate, I should think it infamous to do any thing that might wear the appearance of hostility to that brave and sincere little man, to whose instrumentality we really owed the breaking up of the combination of aristocracy in Westminster. Fain would I have taken part against Burdett at this time, or have kept a total silence with regard to him; but it was impossible to do this without giving up the cause altogether, and without letting in the aristocracy again. Besides, in all other respects his conduct was then good. He then talked it well; he then told us that he would “tear out the accursed leaves of that scandalous RED BOOK, and bring back men’s minds to the almost forgotten notions of the sacredness of private property, which ought no longer to be transferred from the legitimate possessors to venal and merce-

"nary combinations." In all other respects he was good; he held the proper language. In his address to the people of Westminster after the election, he said things which we will make him repeat now, or we will rub his nose in them once in every twenty-four hours. This address is so pregnant with matter, and so fine an illustration of his present doctrine, which inculcates the fitness of placemen to be members for Westminster, that we will have a new edition of it; and here it is, word for word, and letter for letter:—

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Electors of Westminster, after the Election.

"Gentlemen,—Next to the consciousness of endeavouring sincerely to serve my country, nothing can be more pleasing to my mind than the public approbation of my endeavours. Accept my grateful thanks. At the same time forgive me for feeling something like despair of any good to the country; whilst I see the regular expenses of corruption greatly exceed all the expenses necessary for any war, which we can be justified in pursuing; whilst I see attempts to delude the public mind, by comparatively petty and insignificant inquiries into what is termed PECULATION; whilst those inquirers themselves think it not dishonourable to seize greedily every opportunity of enriching themselves out of the public spoil, by any other means not termed by them PECULATION. Such wretched notions of public honour and honesty can afford no signal benefit to the public, nor can give us any suitable redress. They appear to me to resemble the notion of chastity entertained by the prostitute, who boldly challenged any one to say, that she ever went out of the regiment. According to them, all within the regiment, all within the RED BOOK is honourable and virtuous. And they insult us by declaring that they have as good a title by the RED BOOK, as any of the people can have to the fruits of their industry, or to the inheritance of their ancestors;

from which industry, and from which inheritance, be it remembered, and from them alone, the RED BOOK itself takes every thing that it has to bestow. So that they pretend as good a right to all which they can contrive to take from us, as we have to the remainder—till they can take that too. Gentlemen, figure to yourselves a gang of robbers combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of several surrounding parishes; and agreeing amongst themselves to share the booty in such different proportions as the leader of the gang shall appoint to each. From time to time it will happen that some thief or other amongst them will purloin a part of the booty, and clandestinely appropriate to himself more than his appointed share. The purloiner is detected; and the gang with open mouths exclaim against the atrocity of cheating—the *regiment*; the only crime of the kind which they acknowledge to be so. Would it not be ridiculous in these plundered parishes to take any part in such a dispute; and to divide themselves into strong parties for the accusers or the accused? As long as the thieves in common take all they can seize, what is it to the plundered people who share the booty, how they share it, and in what proportions? Ought they not rather to destroy the gang and abolish the combination?—Such is my conception of the different corrupt ministers we have seen, and their corrupt adherents. And unless the public with an united voice, shall loudly pronounce the abolition of the WHOLE of the present SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION, I must still continue to despair of my country. You, gentlemen, by this unparalleled election, have loudly pronounced your sentiments. May your voice be echoed through the land. In the meantime, though an individual is almost as nothing in the scale, I will carry with me your sentiments into the House of Commons. And I assure you that no rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted to restore to my countrymen

" the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair
 " fruits of their industry; to tear out
 " the accursed leaves of that scandalous
 " RED BOOK; and to bring back men's
 " minds to the almost forgotten notions
 " of the sacredness of private property;
 " which ought no longer to be transfer-
 " red from the legitimate possessors by
 " the corrupt votes of venal and mer-
 " cenary combinations. I will continue,
 " gentlemen, disinterestedly faithful to
 " the interests of my country; and en-
 " deavour to prove myself your zealous
 " representative.

" FRANCIS BURDETT.

" 23. May, 1207."

Amidst addresses and speeches in this tone, poor Paull was soon forgotten, and all the baseness which attended his exclusion. The people had triumphed over the insolent factions; and they ascribed their triumph solely to Burdett, who really had had nothing at all to do with the matter. But, the *committee* who had carried on his election, became a formidable body. The achievement they took care to have ascribed to themselves, though not a man of them was capable of either writing or speaking more than any common porter or drayman. They got into a correspondence with persons all over the kingdom. Brookes in the Strand, who was their chairman, dealt in glass, and actually made a considerable fortune by circulating his glass advertisements, printed on [the same sheet of paper with his political circulars; and there were all the reformers, all over the kingdom, applying to "Samuel Brookes, Esq." for political information, and sometimes to recommend fit persons to be members of Parliament, when poor Brookes could no more write two sentences correctly than he could have conducted a ship of the line across the Atlantic. This committee, however, could do nothing without Burdett; and Burdett could do nothing without the committee. They soon found out their mutual dependence, and they acted accordingly. They often wanted him to move, and he just as often wanted not to move, but to let well enough alone. They were afraid

that, without agitation of some sort, they should sink into contempt or oblivion: he, on the contrary, wanted them for nothing but for the purpose of keeping the people from stirring; and, thus they jogged along together, becoming every year more and more inactive; of less and less consequence, and more and more inefficient, as to all public matters; he resolved not to stir, and they knowing that they could not exist in opposition to him, bending to all his humours, bringing forward Kinnaird to exclude Major Cartwright; bringing in Hobhouse, in order to give him a supple and place-hunting colleague, and to protect him against the terrible danger of having for yoke-mate a zealous, a stirring, and sincere man.

But, *time*, which wears out every thing, has, by degrees, worn away this rump. The glass-man has been taken away by death. Old IRONSIDES has retired; COWHIDE has given the thing up, if he be still alive: there seems to be only one single man of the old original rump in existence, and he, who always had more sense than all the rest, seems to be ashamed of attempting to hold up this *figurant* any longer. "Dear *De Vear*" and "dear POUNCET" (whence coming, and what being, God only knows), are entirely new actors; and seem to know very little about their business. He must be strangely put to his shifts; and, if he keep a seat for himself, to say nothing about his forcing a colleague upon the people of Westminster, it will be much more by luck than by any thing else.

I shall now insert the *Morning Chronicle* account of the proceedings of the electors at the Crown and Anchor on Monday last, at which meeting he and his colleagues certainly received sentence, being left to wait for the day of execution. Let it be observed, that this was a meeting called by themselves; that *dear De Vear* had done his best. I dare say, along with dear Pouncet, to pack the meeting as far as possible; and I dare say, that upon an occasion so important, HARPAGON would *bleed a little*. He should have had a dinner meeting, at a sovereign a head,

and then "dear De Vear" might have employed the funds with certain effect in the procuring of good humour, taking care not to omit to remind the guests that, if there should be asparagus served up, they should mind not to begin eating them at the wrong end, as I will swear I saw Hobhouse's gang do when he had assembled them to hear him abuse me, and to prevent me from replying, in 1829. As it was, it appears to have been a most untoward event, though every precaution seems to have been taken to prevent the disgraceful result. The meeting had been advertised for the evening; but it took place at one o'clock, so as to prevent great numbers of the working classes from being present. But, in spite of everything, the old trickster found it impossible to carry on the delusion a moment longer. Well might he *sweat*! Well might he wipe his face. It would have made a skeleton sweat. A gentleman who was present tells me that, when at his peroration he pulled out his handkerchief, twenty people exclaimed, "Now the Baronet's crying." If I had been there, I should have said, "Not yet: he is only preparing his eyes against the crying time: that is to come when the cabbages and turnips are ready." I know, that I should see this fellow put down upon his own dunghill, and by his own people: popular justice is slow; but it is sure. Let the reader just ask himself this: If such be the storm which he has to encounter when *in a room*, what sort of a storm is that which threatens him if he dare to meet the injured and insulted people of Westminster out in the open air. All that is now wanted is, another candidate; to stand along with Col. Evans. Another candidate there doubtless will be, Radical or Tory; for, mind, he dares not keep his seat, if elected without Hobhouse. He is bound to that, by his letters; but that is feeble binding for him: there are other bindings which he cannot break through; and, therefore, unless the people of Westminster now relapse into shameful supineness, they will no longer be disgraced by being the property of this man, as they have,

in fact, been, ever since the year 1817, when he openly abandoned and basely betrayed, the cause of Parliamentary reform. When I have inserted the proceedings at this meeting, I shall have further remarks to make.

MEETING OF ELECTORS.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 27. November.)

On Monday, at the Crown and Anchor, a very numerous meeting took place of the electors and the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, to consider of taking measures to secure, at the ensuing election, the return to Parliament of the two present members—Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse.

The meeting was most numerously attended; was certainly one of the most stormy that ever took place in the metropolis; and though that was anticipated, no provision was made for the accommodation of reporters in the only place where the proceedings of a noisy assemblage can be heard—namely, immediately close to the chair. True they were placed within a few yards of the chairman, but so deafening was the clamour during a considerable portion of the day, that it became impossible to follow the course of the observations which fell even from the chairman himself. On the entrance of the committee, amongst whom were Mr. T. Duncombe and the two members for Westminster, there was considerable applause, and some waving of hats; but, at the same time, hisses from all parts of the room were loudly heard; and at no period, during the meeting, was there any expression of applause in reference to the conduct of Sir J. Hobhouse that was not immediately opposed by a strong display of hostility to the claims of the Right Hon. Baronet.

Mr. DE VEAR then addressed a few words to the meeting, but the purport of them can only be the subject of conjecture; they were, of course, presumed to relate to the appointment of a chairman, but on that point no question was put.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE then presented himself to the meeting, and though

assailed with cries of "No flogging," and a variety of other exclamations, did, in some degree, succeed in obtaining a hearing. Proceeding to take for granted that he had been called to the chair, he observed, that they might easily find men better qualified to fulfil the duties which attached themselves to the distinguished and responsible situation of presiding over a meeting such as that which he had the honour to address. He was fully sensible that his permitting himself to be placed in their chair on that day might be ascribed to vanity or presumption; but if he declined to preside over an assembly such as that, it might be attributed to other and to different motives—motives which he should be much more reluctant to incur the charge of than even those of vanity or presumption. There was no charge of which he could be more apprehensive than that of shrinking from his duty as a public man at a moment like the present; and, above all things, it would be most abhorrent to his feelings not to come forward in support of men in whose political principles he placed the fullest confidence. He had had in his place in Parliament the most ample opportunity of observing their conduct, and he had satisfied himself that there never was calumny more unfounded, or charges more false than those which had been levelled against Sir John Hobhouse. (Cheers and hisses.) The electors of Westminster must be aware of the opposition that was now in progress, and he was sure that there was not a man present but regretted that it had occurred, (cries of "No!" and cheers); and unless he could bring himself to believe that those who had been the prime movers of that cabal—(here the violent uproar prevented the conclusion of the sentence from being heard). There was no one act of inconsistency that could be brought against Sir John Hobhouse; but because he, a Minister of the Crown, refused to pledge himself to the period—even almost to the very hour—when he should introduce any particular measure, he was to be declared unworthy of their confidence. (Loud cheers.) The hon. Baronet was

now present, anxious and willing to declare and explain his opinions. (Bravo.) But with regard to pledges, if they had no regard for his past conduct, what confidence could they have in the fulfilment of pledges? As to his being a Minister of the Crown, who made him so? It would be answered, the King; true, the King had appointed him, but he was recommended by his conduct as the representative for Westminster; and if his acceptance of office was an act of guilt, the show of that guilt attached to the electors of Westminster, who had approved of his appointment, and re-elected him when he accepted office. The hon. Chairman, in support of Sir John Hobhouse's acceptance of office, referred to a distinguished statesman who was once the representative of Westminster—Mr. Fox; that distinguished individual had said, "A country can never prosper at a time when that which ought to be the object of ambition with a man of honour is considered a disgrace." The most amusing part of the opposition was, the distinction which was attempted to be drawn between Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse. Why, they had always acted together in all public measures; and if there were any guilt attaching to Sir John Hobhouse, Sir Francis Burdett could not be exculpated from a share of it. He would detain them no longer; but he would put it to the reformers, whether this was the time they should be divided among themselves? The voice of the people united gained them the Reform Bill, and it must be the same united voice that must secure to themselves the fruits of that reform. (Cheers and hisses.) The hon. Chairman concluded, amidst great tumult, by requesting that the report of the committee be read.

Mr. B. BEAUMONT read the report, but owing to the tremendous uproar that prevailed, not one word of it was heard.

F. STEPHENSON, Esq., M.P., moved the first resolution, expressive of confidence in Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse. He addressed the meeting at some length, but it was evident, from

the temper of the meeting, that it was intended to listen to no person. The uproar during this gentleman's speech prevented our reporter from catching even a portion of a sentence, and at length the hon. gentleman retired amidst mingled groans and cheers.

A gentleman, whose name we could not learn, seconded the resolution in dumb show.

The CHAIRMAN appeared also to put the resolution to the meeting, but not a syllable could be heard.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then came forward, which was the signal for renewed confusion—a large party loudly cheering, the other party hissing and groaning. The latter and the former appeared to be nearly equal in numbers. Owing to the tremendous noise and confusion which prevailed throughout the whole of Sir F. Burdett's address, and the low tone of voice, and agitated manner of the honourable Baronet, it was utterly impossible that above fifty persons could hear even broken portions of his sentences. At the table at which the reporters were placed not a syllable was audible, and even when afterwards, by the kind accommodation of some of the gentlemen of the committee, we obtained a position close to the honourable Baronet's person, we were still unable to catch any more than occasional sentences and unconnected expressions. The confusion was as much owing to the supporters of Sir Francis, as to his opponents. For, as the former deemed it incumbent on them to exhibit their zeal, almost every alternate minute, by loud cheering, when from the fact of their not hearing, they could not possibly have assigned a reason either for approbation or disapprobation, the latter immediately answered the challenge by hisses, groans, and cries of "Off, off!" As far as we could succeed in comprehending the honourable Baronet, we understood him to say:—I cannot but deeply regret the cause of the discontent which has sprung up so unexpectedly amongst the electors of Westminster, who have for so long a period acted together unitedly on one principle, and have never allowed any enemy to cause

them to be divided. It is to me a source of deep regret that friends should now be dividing and separating, as I can understand, *on no public principle—on no ground that can be stated*; and that after the experience of so long a period of universal service on the part of my honourable Friend, there should, for no reason that I can collect; *for no valid reason*, I am sure, that has yet been put forth to the public, there should be found a gentleman to come forward and oppose Sir John Hobhouse. (Hear.) Are there any of the electors themselves, who can state any rational ground why they should now strip my hon. Friend of the confidence with which they invested him fourteen years ago, and which fourteen years of able service should, I think, have secured to him? Much has been said in public print on the subject, and I have also taken the liberty of addressing you on it, speaking, as I am bound to do, my candid opinion, and not concealing from those who are opposed to me my views respecting them—[Here the noise was most intolerable, and the honourable Baronet was obliged to be silent for a short time.]—Copies of the following were then handed up above the heads of the meeting, and a great number thrown on the hustings. The hon. Baronet took one of them into his hands, and proceeded:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"*Mr., now Sir John, Hobhouse's Speech*
"on the Hustings, 19. Feb., 1819.

"Let me put this question of reform
"to the Whigs distinctly.

"They say—I would limit your right
"of suffrage.

"I say—I would extend it!

"They say—I would not have all
"housekeepers vote.

"I say—I would not stop at house-
"keepers! Will they go as far as this?

"Ask them, Gentlemen.

"They say—I am not for annual
"Parliaments—I say I am! Will they
"go as far as that? Ask them, Gentle-
"men.

"Will they give you any reform that
"will destroy corruption? Ask them,
"Gentlemen.

"Sir John has made four propositions his own, viz.—

"1. Repeal of the Septennial Act,

"2. Voting by Ballot ;

"3. Repeal of House and Window Taxes ;

"4. Repeal of Taxes upon Knowledge.

"Will he stick to these ? Ask him, Gentlemen."

A paper is now put into my hand, which states that my hon. Friend, on a former period, alleged that he would extend the suffrage. It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Hobhouse has contributed mainly to extend it, he has exerted every effort in his power to extend it. Gentlemen, these papers are so futile, that I am astonished that gentlemen who are now offering them should think it right in this way to make such an utterly useless attack. (Here the hon. Baronet threw the paper before him.) Gentlemen, I really can have but little to say, either for myself or for my hon. Colleague, except that, from 1795, a period I am almost ashamed to confess, I have never had occasion to change any opinion I then entertained. (At this period the chairman got on the table, and used every effort to obtain silence, but his exertions were abortive.) Gentlemen, this is a scene, the like of which, within the long period during which I have been a representative of Westminster, I have never yet witnessed, I have never before seen the time when the electors of Westminster, with their ears open, their minds open, if they saw cause of complaint, would not in a handsome and manly manner come forward and state their objections, whatever they might be, to their candidates, before to-day. I have never before seen that they would allow themselves to be degraded by a tumultuous course, which can have no other effect on the public at large than that of countenancing all those calumnies which have been so often brought forward against them, and of playing the part of those new associates, who we have reason to think have been brought forward into Westminster, engaging with the Tories, whose only object is to be obtained by clamour, and who, if they cannot defeat popular

purposes, will bring popular meetings and persons into public disrepute, and which a very few persons have the power to do. I say, then, that I stand before you on the same ground, with the same views, and on the same principles as my hon. Colleague and I wish not, and I would not for the representation of Westminster, desire to be separated from him. Now much has been addressed—I will not say to the understanding of the electors, but to their supposed want of understanding, by which they are supposed to be so easily entrapped, so easily gulled and duped, which would mislead them, and carry them into a course of conduct not consistent with that which they have hitherto boldly pursued. Amongst other things, I have been accused, or rather an apology has been made for me, which I, however, reject, which I should disdain to make, attributing to me, in something that has been addressed publicly to you, a want of discretion. It is to be excused, as it is said, on the ground of having been written on the spur of the moment. Gentlemen, I fancy that almost all letters are written on the spur of the occasion. I never heard of letters being written, then kept for a length of time, and then brought forth again, under the impression that, like wine, they would be the better the older they were. But I see no indiscretion characterizing any one sentiment, or expression, or feeling that I have uttered to the people of Westminster. Nay, I say more ; I say, if I were indiscreet, I would be so still, because it is honest,—and I place honesty far above discretion in my scale of moral duties. I would beg leave just to say to the gallant Colonel who has come forward so uncalled for, and who has been most ungraciously received with regard to his making an excuse for me, as *Lady Teazle* said to *Mrs. Candour* in *The School for Scandal*, "Oh dear, *Mrs. Candour*, never undertake my defence." Gentlemen, if I wanted discretion ever so much—if any indiscretion had attended my conduct—I am sure I could not be ungenerous enough to borrow

anything from the gallant Colonel in palliation of it, who really appears to me himself to stand in need of all he has got. Why, I hold my whole public life as an act of indiscretion. Was it discreet in me to take up the cause of the people five-and-thirty years ago? Was it discreet in me to get myself into jail for the sake of justifying, as I conceived, honest and ill-treated men? Was that discreet in me? I admit the indiscretion; but I claim a little for the honesty of my conduct, and the sacrifices I have made. That such honesty and such sacrifices should have been pledged and been completed in this great crowning measure of reform makes me proud, and makes, in my opinion, a demand on the public for the support of that King and those Ministers who have placed the liberties of the country on a rock that cannot be moved, who have thus placed the constitution on its true constitutional basis. And it is a little too much, I think, to expect of persons who have so lately effected such a purpose—a purpose which, a few months before it was effected, no man could venture to say or flatter himself with the hope of its being accomplished—now, almost before time has been given to the public to feel the great power they have obtained—my hon. Friend, too, having entered into the Government determined to support reform—that it is now to be so weakly cast into his teeth that he, at a time when the Whigs, as a party, were thought to be hostile to reform—when the great question of reform, which had been agitated in the minds of the country, had been adopted by all the ablest and most eminent men, I may say from the period of the Revolution down to the time when the measure passed—too much to suppose, that because my hon. Friend is opposed to coming forward and voluntarily pledging himself to his future conduct, that that is to be a reproach to him; that he is to be reproached at this particular time, under these altered circumstances, when a whole host of matters are pressing forward, all matters of great importance, all debatable matters, all matters of

prudence, all matters of deep consideration. I think it is too much to ask him to pledge himself, before he goes into that great assembly, if he should be sent there; but that he should be left free to support, as far as he may think right and good for the public, whatever may be brought forward for discussion. It is idle to think that he ought not to be allowed to go into Parliament unbiased and unpledged, but he should be tied hand and foot, and be under the necessity of cutting short all discussions, by declaring that he had been either so thoughtless, or so wise, as previously to have come to an unalterable opinion on these subjects. (Hear.) The hon. Bart. then proceeded. Pledges were demanded; he had no objection to them for untried men; but he considered them nonsensical. (Hisses and uproar.) A gentleman named Merle had come forward the other evening on behalf of the gallant Colonel. That gentleman he (Sir Francis) believed was originally an anti-reformer, spoke against public principle, and supported the anti-reforming interest in the person of Sir Murray Maxwell. Another gentleman also, a Mr. Michie, had been enlisted under the banners of the gallant Colonel, who had also been an anti-reformer. The question then was with him, were they converts or not? If they were, in his mind they were acting with the greatest absurdity; if they were not, they were acting in that manner which he (Sir Francis) would not name. (Cheers.) He objected to pledges, as not binding any man; and he would give them an instance why he did so. He would suppose that a person went into the House pledged to support the Vote by Ballot; that, during the time he was in the house, there had been pointed out the mischiefs that resulted from it in other countries—for instance, in America; was he then, being convinced that it would be attended with the worst effects, to break his conscience or his pledge? (Cheers and tremendous uproar.) It had been said by Mr. Merle, that he (Sir Francis) thought himself wiser than the collective constituency of Westminster. He

could assure the meeting that he did no such thing, and he would refer to his former conduct whether he could be charged with such an offence. It was because he did not think himself wiser than other men—because he did not think that it was impossible nothing could occur to alter his opinion—that he was not dishonest enough to pledge himself. He was not one of those who wished to mislead by sham and false pretences, and therefore it was that he objected to pledges. He objected to them, not on his own account, but for the good of the electors of Westminster. (Loud cheering and disapprobation). It was not for the sake of his honourable Colleague that he wished the electors of Westminster to re-elect him; but it was for the support of their own honour and consistency. He knew it had been said that a new broom swept clean. How that adage would bear out in the present case he would not pretend to say. (Hear, hear.) If the electors of Westminster chose to send the gallant Colonel as one of their representatives to the House of Commons, they might be able to discover that. The gallant Colonel, it was true, had said that he thought it right a Reformed Parliament should remodel all the institutions of the country. He (Sir F.) did not view matters in that light. The whole fabric to be destroyed before it could be remodelled, was a principle which he never could adopt. What he wished for was, the rendering more perfect the institutions of the country; but at the same time preserving and rendering them immortal. He stood before the electors of Westminster willing and anxious to make known to them the opinions he entertained if they knew not enough of them already. (Cheering and uproar.) He had always been ready to do so, and he was sure that no elector of Westminster could say that he had found him shrinking and skulking from the most open investigation; and he stood before them now as satisfied of meeting with the support of the patriotic and sound-judging electors of Westminster as he ever did in his whole life, and that the struggle that had now commenced would

terminate in the support of their high character. The excitement that now existed was the natural result of the condition into which the people had been brought; but he had no doubt that a very little time would elapse before the people came into the same state upon the subject as they originally were. The whole complaint against his right hon. Colleague, and which appeared to him to have caused the disturbance and clamour which had taken place at the meeting that day, had resolved itself into one circumstance, namely, that Sir John was in office. Was it, he would ask, to be said, that an honest man never could be in office? (Loud cheers.) That he could hold no public situation without being a foe to the people? (Cheers.) Such a sentiment would naturally have come from the breast of an Englishman during the borough-mongering domination; but now that the people had a Government who had carried reform, all such sentiments ought to be extinguished. He could assure the meeting, that if they had listened to such arguments as those, they would be imposed upon by their former opponents, and would be answering every end they wished for—namely, be excited into a spirit of dissension. (Cheers.) They would join with their former adversaries against their former friends; he, therefore, looked to the electors of Westminster with that confidence with which he had ever looked to them, ready as he was at all times willingly and truly to communicate upon every subject upon which they wished information. He trusted, that now the boroughmongers had been got out of the House of Commons, electors, whose rights were so valuable, would not quarrel among themselves. (Vehement cheering.) Colonel Evans had said that he should not think of opposing Sir John Hobhouse upon any public ground, and that he would only come forward in case of a vacancy, thinking that vacancy would occur by his (Sir F.) being raised to the peerage. That event had not taken place, and therefore no vacancy has occurred. What, therefore, could have induced Colonel Evans to have put himself forward,

having no accusation against Sir John Cam Hobhouse, he could not imagine. There must have been some reason further than that which had been assigned, to have induced any reasonable man to favour his pretensions. Colonel Evans had said that he thought Lord Dunboyne had been applied to; but upon what ground it was, that he would ask the gallant Colonel opposing his right hon. Colleague. All his (Sir J. Hobhouse's) exertions were to be thrown aside, and because he would not give pledges as the gallant Colonel had done, that support which he had hitherto received from the electors of Westminster was to be denied him. If there were any charge against his hon. Colleague, Sir John Hobhouse, relative to his public conduct, he was now present to stand upon that conduct, and to reply to the charge. Both his hon. Colleague and himself were present to answer any charge that could be manfully and fairly brought forward, and by rational beings. (Loud cheers.) But he had no hesitation in saying, that if any of the opposing party thought they could pick out from among themselves, or from elsewhere, any person who was more likely and more faithfully to defend those principles of public liberty which both Sir John Hobhouse and himself had hitherto unitedly defended, he would as zealously co-operate with that man in the ranks of the people as he had already done. (Cheers.) Those principles were what he had first declared to the electors of Westminster, and they would continue to be his principles to the last. He appealed to the electors upon those principles, leaving them to do their duty as he had done, conscious as he was that, to the best of his ability, he had conscientiously discharged it. (Cheers.)

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE then came forward amidst the warmest applause from all those present who favoured the pretensions of the right honourable Baronet, but he was, no doubt, very loudly assailed by the opposite party, who certainly appeared to us to be numerous, and very equally diffused throughout the different parts of the

meeting. Our improved situation on the platform, and the great distinctness and deliberation which, at all times, mark the right honourable Baronet's delivery, enabled us to catch more of what fell from him than from any other speaker. He began with saying—Fair play and fair dealing have always been the characteristics of the electors of Westminster, and of the people of England; and as I am now upon my trial this day, I hope that the jury, before they condemn me, will give me a fair hearing. I am well aware that when I first entered into public life I embarked on no summer sea. (Great confusion, and an interference on the part of the chairman to obtain order.) I say, that when I embarked in public life, I was well aware of the nature of the undertaking. I knew that in facing my constituents I could not expect at all times an equally favourable reception, especially in representing any very large constituency. I say, that in my answer to the late address in which I acceded to the wish that for the sixth time, I would allow myself to be put in nomination for the city of Westminster. (Renewed confusion.) I am aware that this disturbance is created only by some half dozen persons in different parts of the meeting, to prevent my being heard by the great and enlightened constituency of Westminster. By that great and enlightened constituency I have been elected; and from the time of my first election to the present hour, I can safely and conscientiously say, that I have never done anything to deprive me of the enjoyment of that share of the confidence of the electors of Westminster, which first placed me in the high and honourable situation of their representative. In a letter which has been addressed to my honourable Colleague by a friend of mine, he says he has found a general and glowing disapprobation of my conduct on the part of the electors of Westminster. The friend who thus writes of the dissatisfaction which he says prevails, has undoubtedly had the very best opportunities of knowing how the matter really is, for he has been at my side, or rather behind me, on most public occasions; and I fully

agree with those who think that he ought to know what is the opinion of the electors of Westminster, for he has had recently very frequent opportunities of intercourse with some of them; and who is this? No other person than Colonel De Lacey Evans. Yes, the hon. and gallant Candidate who now offers himself for your suffrages, has, it would seem, found out that there is much and general dissatisfaction expressed in Westminster respecting my conduct in Parliament. It would seem, then, that he has at length found it out. To borrow a metaphor from his own glorious profession, the train has been laid in silence under-ground, the sappers have effected their work noiselessly, and, when the mine explodes, the gallant Colonel comes forward, declares his breach practicable, cheers his supporters on to the assault, tears down Westminster's ancient standard, pushes its former defenders into the ditch, and proclaims himself master of the citadel. (Cheers, cries of "Well done, well done!" and some hisses.) When the deputation, which has been so often referred to, came to me, I asked if they had any complaint to make against me? The reply was, "No complaint whatever." But while I am upon this subject, I may as well observe, that it has been industriously circulated abroad that I was guilty of want of courtesy towards that deputation. I almost feel it a degradation to be under the necessity of replying to such a charge. Is there any man in England who could suspect me of want of courtesy or respect towards such a deputation? I trust I am too well known to be seriously accused of that. But I understand the gallant Colonel objects to me in my official capacity; but I think that objection has been most satisfactorily disposed of by my hon. Colleague, and, indeed, I would say, that it has been disposed of by the electors of Westminster, who returned me without opposition immediately after my acceptance of the office which I have now the honour to hold. Now, I will ask you, gentlemen, what opinion my hon. and gallant Opponent has expressed upon the sub-

ject of my conduct upon that occasion? Who was it, at the election which took place after my appointment to office, that moved the thanks of the electors of Westminster to their representatives?—It was no other than Colonel De Lacey Evans. (True, true.) And in what terms did he express himself respecting the conduct of my hon. Colleague and myself on that occasion, to the person by whom the resolution was seconded? He said he should move it with pleasure, for he said he thought us two of the honestest men in the House of Commons; and now he offers himself to the electors of Westminster all for the love he bears his country—he can have no other motive. There is no charge made against any part of my conduct—no person dares to do anything of the sort. In fact, the hon. secretary of this hon. Candidate's committee exonerates me from any charge of the kind. There exists, as I repeat, no ground, not the slightest, for bringing any charge against me. It has been stated that I had declared that my principles and those of Mr Hume were as far as the poles asunder. This is certainly a misstatement. I never said any such thing. Wits have short memories; I will not add the remainder of the quotation—that blockheads have none; but wits have short memories, and in this instance the person by whom the statement was made certainly failed to relate the matter in the precise terms applicable to it. I repeat that I never said any such thing; what I said was this—that if Mr. Hume proposed a reduction to the threatened extent of 30,000 men, that then he and I should be as far as the poles asunder; but that has nothing whatever to do with the slanderous placard that has been going about on this subject. I now come to the last charge that has been made against me, or with reference to the coming election. It is said by those who are hostile to me, that I have refused to give pledges as to my future conduct; that is not true, for I offer the best possible pledge—I offer the pledge of my whole life. But I need not detain you with detailing the particulars of the

paltry contrivances by which this cry has been raised, and by which an organised plan has been matured for removing me from the representation of Westminster. Let me not be misunderstood—I am far from attributing it to Colonel Evans, that was concerned in organizing any such proceeding—on the contrary I believe he was unconscious of its existence at the time it was going forward. But by whom do you suppose has this project been carried into effect? By 5,000 of the electors?—No such thing—nor by 50, nor by 10; but how many, think you, gentlemen? By one individual, and I have his letter in my pocket; and I may be allowed to say, that I feel very grateful for the interest that he has been kind enough to take in my election. Now observe what this gentleman says to the three electors who came to me to ask me for pledges. He says, “Take care and get his answer (meaning mine) before the public meeting, and then publish it immediately after it has been obtained.” This is exactly the present condition of the hopeful scheme. Of its defeat I cannot entertain the slightest apprehension. The public are already aware of its character; and, least of all, should I fear that the electors of Westminster would be duped by any such scheme. Pledges from me! My whole public life is the best pledge which can be offered. There are some who do not think that that will satisfy the electors of Westminster; and what will then? Have I ever deceived you? Have I ever omitted to do anything that could promote the interests of Westminster, or benefit the country at large? My conscience tells me that I have not. If a life of public service be not sufficient to guarantee integrity and good faith, I know not what is. In the judgment of most men it would be considered that none but a fool would fling mere promises into the scale against public virtue and tried integrity; and to this I have but to add, that when the great struggle does come, and coming, should terminate otherwise than I expect, I shall feel that there must have been somewhere not only a great sacrifice of public principle, but of private

honour; and it will be impossible for me ever to contemplate it otherwise than with pain; for a man may brave the hatred of his enemies, but the heart sickens at the ingratitude of friends. He says he opposes me because a man in office goes shackled into Parliament, and that many of the institutions of the country were to be remodelled; therefore the electors of Westminster could not support a man so shackled. They had lately been employed in remodelling one of the greatest institutions they had, and he would ask who it was that had carried through that remodelling? Was it Col. Evans? Was it Mr. Hume? Was it men in office or men out of office? Why, was it not the Ministry, backed by the people? (Cheers.) It seemed that they were to have a remodelling of the Constitution; but you will not begin by cutting up the roots of good faith between man and man, but have something like sincerity in the dealings of this world. I hope you will not endeavour to found public morality on private infamy. I have only my past services to refer to; and unless I find something more palpable than a charge against my being in office, I must call it a mere trick to hide a paltry design. Lord Grey and his colleagues had introduced the greatest measure which statesmen had ever tried to accomplish; they carried it by the assistance of the people, through every danger, and now they would pursue their uncompromising course. The victory was won—the deed was accomplished. Now, of course, the finishers of that good work looked around for the approbation of the country, to which they considered themselves entitled. If Westminster could not return a man in office, what other place was there which could suffer itself to be disgraced, for disgrace it must, in such circumstances, be considered? The result must be that placemen would altogether be left out. There had been many great men in the extraordinary times in which I have lived; with many of them I have been intimately acquainted; but with the histories of all I am acquainted; but it appeared there was a great man

living at this very time, whom I have not known till now ; this great man is sought after by no less than three different places as a representative—his native Limerick claimed him for her own ; Rye, the shores of Sussex, would not lose him ; and, lastly, the electors of Westminster said they could not spare him. His gallant Friend seemed to be the most desirable man that ever was desired, he must possess the power of ubiquity. He was wanted to support Mr. O'Connell in the repeal of the Union ; the agriculturists were in agony at the thoughts of losing him, and according to the placard which has this day been exhibited, the electors of Westminster claimed him for themselves ; and, as it is said, he was, at all times to be accessible to the 18,000 electors. To do all that he must, as *Mrs. Malaprop* said, be like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once. My gallant Friend is more fortunate than myself, for I have no shelter if driven out of Westminster, nor would I accept any other ; for if I am unfit to serve the electors of Westminster, I am equally unfit for any other constituency. If we are to have a struggle, I hope it will be a very different one to what we have witnessed this day. I do not doubt but that it will end so as once more to establish your character for honesty and good faith. Colonel Evans has assigned as a reason for his coming forward, that Westminster is an open borough, and that if he did not come forward, somebody else would. This is but a bad reason ; the same thing might be said of the King's highway ; that was an open highway, and a highwayman might as well say to me, there is something that belongs to you which will suit me very much, and as this is the open highway, I'll make bold to take it. (Confusion.) I think I should have great reason for complaint, more especially if the robber had been riding side by side with me along the road for a considerable distance, and I had, consequently mistaken him for a friend. (Cheers and hisses.) Now, gentlemen, I can only say to you, that such as I have been, such shall I continue to be. I told this

to the gentlemen who waited on me to ask me to pledge—and I said to them, that dear to me as was your confidence, and the representation of Westminster—still dearer to me was my own character. I care not what those who have taken part against me may say, I desire to be judged only by my actions. And I know that I shall have your verdict in my favour ; and I know, perhaps with still greater certainty, that I shall have the approving verdict of my own conscience. The gallant Colonel Evans has said, that he was used to be on the winning side, and hopes he may be so now. I beg leave, however, to tell him, that he is already on the losing side, and I tell you that he has already lost the esteem of many good and honourable men (No, no ! cheers and hisses.) I do not think, gentlemen, that Colonel Evans viewed the subject in the same light as you, perhaps, or as myself—if he had, of course he would sooner have cut off his right hand than have acted as he has done. Would I have gone to Rye to supplant him, because Rye was now an open borough, and because there might, perhaps, exist there a few individuals who were not satisfied with his conduct ? For had such an application been made to me from those individuals, I should have answered, Colonel Evans is my friend. I approve of his parliamentary conduct. It is not impossible, from his situation, that he may have made one or two little slips. His principles in the main I admire. We have worked together in the same cause, we have together urged our way in the same public career, and I will not turn round on an old friend, nor bring discredit on an old cause, by dividing its old supporters. (Cheers and groans.) The gallant Colonel cannot be on the winning side. If he were to triumph, it would be but an inglorious victory. It would be a triumph over an old associate. He would succeed in dividing old friends. He would give glee and joy only to the enemies of the good old cause of reform ; and though he would not succeed in gaining any additional credit, yet he would most certainly succeed in bringing great discredit upon

the very cause of which he pretended to be an advocate. Of the result of the contest, however, I have no doubt. Indeed, the only difficulty I find is, to persuade anybody that there will be a contest at all. (Confusion—"Oh, oh!") But, gentlemen, we must, of course, be prepared. You, gentlemen, must exert yourselves. I will be at my post. I will not be wanting to you; and I feel certain, gentlemen, you will not be wanting to me. (Loud cheering and disapprobation.)

The same confusion that existed during Sir F. Burdett's address, prevailed during that of Sir John Hobhouse, and was attributable to the same cause. We have, therefore, only noticed those expressions of approbation and disapprobation which were more particularly vehement.

The CHAIRMAN then rose to put the resolution, expressive of confidence in Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse, which he said he had previously read. (Great confusion existed—Cries of "read.") The greater part of the meeting did not appear to understand what the resolution was. The Chairman, however, put it, without reading, and about 150 hands out of the vast meeting appeared to us to be held up in its favour, and at least twice that number against it, the greater part of the meeting not voting. In putting the succeeding resolutions, however, nearly the whole assembly took part in the division. The Chairman declared the resolutions carried, amidst great confusion, and cheers, and cries of "No, no!"

Mr. CROUCH then came forward, and the persons present, exhausted, doubtless, by the incessant clamour which had been kept up against the principal objects of their hostility, became at once orderly and attentive. He expressed his regret at the personal feeling which appeared to exist among them. He had often witnessed contests in that room between the friends and the enemies of the people, but it had remained for that day to exhibit an unnatural contest between the advocates of liberty themselves, and conducted with a degree of frenzy far from doing them honour.

He had no personal feeling towards the gallant Colonel, but he was sorry to see him embark in a contest which would have the effect of dividing the friends of the good cause. All such contests as these he felt himself bound to deprecate; and whether he witnessed such a contest in Westminster or in Middlesex, he should equally exclaim against it. He denounced the operations now going on in the county of Middlesex, for the purpose of unseating that zealous, able, and worthy advocate of the rights of the people, Mr. Hume. (Bravo! and tremendous applause; cries of three cheers for Hume! which were unanimously given with great distinctness, heartiness, and unanimity.) The division that had been caused in Westminster he deeply deplored. He wished Colonel Evans had been present to witness the manner in which the greatest patriot of the day—the man who had rendered the most disinterested services to the people had been treated—he meant Sir Francis Burdett. (Uproar.) Sir Francis Burdett, the hero of 40 years' arduous services—the man who had held his fortune, and even his life, a cheap sacrifice to the public cause. And yet the period had actually arrived when men were found so ungrateful, as at the appearance of that man to groan and hiss and cry Off, off. He wished Col. Evans to reflect on the mutability of popular support, and he thought, that had he been there that day, he would have shrunk from the men who could so treat Sir Francis with shame and disgust. He then concluded by moving a resolution to the effect, "That the past conduct of their present representatives was the surest pledge for the future, and that it was unnecessary to demand pledges from Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse."

Mr. HARRISON seconded the motion, which was then put from the chair. An immense majority was held up against it, in the opinion of several around three or four to one, but certainly more than double. The friends of Sir John Hobhouse, however, called it carried, and

Mr. POUNCEY next stood forward.

He said he hoped they would bury all their differences, and would not permit the attempt now making to divide the friends of freedom to succeed. In proposing the next resolution, he begged to observe the authority, in support of it, of a person who was no partial friend, but at this moment a political opponent, that the people, and the electors of Westminster in particular, possessed the most able, zealous, and eloquent advocate in their present representative, Sir John Hobhouse. He then moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting, after the strong expression of approval now given, lament and condemn the measures now adopting to oppose the return of Sir John Hobhouse; and being unable to discover any good object in that opposition, are seemingly determined to use their utmost efforts in order to frustrate it, and to crown with success the return of the man whose public efforts have had the test of experience."

Mr. THURSTON seconded the resolution, which was then put to the meeting, and was declared by the chairman to be carried. An immense number of hands was held up against it, and we should have supposed that it was negatived by as great a majority as the one immediately preceding it.

Mr. CHAMBERS came forward amidst great uproar, and asked whether clamour was proof of a good cause or a bad one? He was here interrupted by three cheers being given at the lower end of the room, for the show of hands just displayed, and three groans for those who were in favour of the resolution. Some persons then called out, "Three cheers for Colonel Evans," which were immediately given. Mr. Chambers, finding he could not gain a hearing, after several ineffectual efforts, proposed a resolution, expressing a hope that the electors would unite with the committee for the purpose of bringing into action all the feelings and interests of the men of Westminster in favour of their old, excellent, and long-tried members.

Mr. DE VEAR having seconded the resolution, it was put and declared to be

carried, although an immense majority of hands was held up against it.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, who, after acknowledging the compliment, declared the meeting dissolved.

Three cheers were then given for Sir F. Burdett and Sir J. Hobhouse, which were replied to by three groans for the same parties, and three cheers for Col. Evans, when the crowd dispersed; and thus ended one of the most stormy meetings which it has been our lot to witness even within the walls of the Crown and Anchor.

At a Meeting of the Central Committee for conducting the re-election of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, the following Copy of Sir Francis Burdett's second Letter to Col. Evans was read.

"DEAR EVANS,—I take the earliest opportunity, on arriving at Brighton, to acknowledge the receipt of your last letter, which appears to me to be founded on a complete misapprehension, and owing thereto to a complete misstatement of all the circumstances and all the feelings connected with this case. You complain of want of courtesy towards you; in what respect, however, you do not point out; and I can only say, that on my part it was never intended. You do, however, specify the last passage of my letter as 'not marked by much courtesy; but that, in consideration of your regard to me, you only permit yourself to complain.' Believe me, this would be much felt by me if I thought there was any cause for the observation, except misapprehension, in the same manner as you suppose I make the representation of Westminster 'a matter of personal feeling;' this last observation relieves me much from the pain the first might occasion, as both are equally without any just foundation. Give me leave to ask, where is the want of courtesy in my stating that I would rather be turned out of Westminster with Hobhouse, than returned to Parliament with any one else? In this there is nothing personal or of private feeling; it is entirely on public

grounds ; and were you the best friend I had in the world, I should say the same. To the best of my recollection, there is not a single sentence, or even a word, in my letter, having reference to any consideration except of a public nature.

"There is no question either between us as to the 'disinterestedness' and public spirit of those who, you inform me, have 'during some months sought you as a candidate.' These words, 'during some months,' are very important; they give rise to new ideas and thoughts; they seem to prove, as Othello says, 'a foregone conclusion.' May I ask whether these persons who had been soliciting you for many months, whether they were the same persons who went to Hobhouse for pledges? If so, was not that a poor contrivance? Or is it not now, to use a significant phrase, the 'cat out of the bag?' And is this, supposing the case to be so, candid dealing, or conduct such as the electors of Westminster have hitherto observed on similar occasions? I think not, and, if it is to be in future adopted, no doubt it is high time to look out for new persons to represent them.

"You then object to my making use of the words, as applied to you of acquiescing in a plan to turn Hobhouse out of Westminster: you say you see no propriety in the term. I must confess I see no impropriety in the act; but am totally at a loss to find the impropriety of the term. You are pleased to suppose me to ask you 'Who the persons were who persuaded you to come forward!' I am not aware of having asked any such question; you, however, suppose so; then comes the answer, 'they,' you say, 'who persuaded me and Hobhouse, to whom we are so largely indebted for success.' It was hardly worth while to suppose the question for the sake of the answer, for, though smart, it is not correct. The fact, as all the world knows is, that I was elected without knowing anything of the matter myself. I was confined to my bed owing to the unfortunate affair with Mr. Paull, Mr. Cline forbid-

ding every one, excepting the necessary attendants entering my room. As to Hobhouse, he cannot be said to have undergone any process of persuasion. He stood forward on public grounds and public principles. He has never quitted the one, or abandoned the other. He stands so still in fact; for as to the objection started of his being in office, it is too childish to deserve notice; besides which, it has already been disposed of by the electors of Westminster themselves. 'It is easy,' says the proverb, 'to find a stick to beat a dog;' but it is not so easy to find a valid reason for opposing an honest man. I hope it is not necessary for me here to say I am not drawing comparisons, or speaking, as you call it, in contrast with Mr. Hobhouse. To disclaim such an intention would be too humiliating to us both, and I can only express my surprise that you should have entertained such a thought before. I am fully aware of your great merits as well as his, and have pleasure in acknowledging them; but, with reference to the present case, the matter in hand, I cannot entertain any doubt, if they were to be weighed, whose scale would kick the beam. The question now is, not which is the best man, but what is the best conduct, the most becoming, and the most useful, in a public point of view, for the people of Westminster to follow? It is the character of the electors of Westminster, and of the people, by one of the best specimens that is going to be tried at the ensuing election, whether popular support and opinion shall be raised or sunk in the estimate of wise men; whether the reproach of inconstancy and levity in the people, so often, with effect, cast upon them by the enemies of popular rights, shall be confuted in this instance or confirmed. This is the stake now about to be played for, and it is on this account, and on this account chiefly, if not solely, that I feel so deep an interest in the game. This great question, therefore, will be tried, I trust, on its true grounds, that all personal preferences or dislikes will be lost sight of, and the result be such as will uphold in the eyes of the

country the high character, sound principles, sound judgment, and steadiness of conduct which the electors of Westminster have so long sustained.

"I cannot conclude without assuring you that the grief and sorrow I before expressed is real, and not mere words; I cannot but feel how uncomfortable this interruption is, thus given to an intimacy I so much valued, nor can I part with it without a pang.

"I remain yours sincerely,

"F. BURDETT."

"Brighton, Nov. 23."

I do not know who this Mr. T. Duncombe is; but I know that he will soon think, if he be not absolutely a toad-eater of Burdett (and I am sure he will get nothing else to *eat* from him); if he be not absolutely a led-captain of the old Baronet, he will very soon wish that he had been at home bed-ridden, instead of being perked up in a chair upon this occasion; and if Mr. Barber Beaumont's insurances be not something a little more certain than his escaping universal contempt on account of his being a bottle-holder upon this occasion, God preserve those who have taken out policies with him. With regard to the rest of the group, it seems to have consisted of a parcel of people that nobody knew; so that Burdett might be fairly congratulated on having brought his hogs to a fine market at last. He is a cunning fox; but the cunningest of foxes carry the joke too far very frequently; they over-estimate the effects of their cunning. His old rump, if it had still been in existence, would have guarded him against the insolent assertion that they *should elect Hobhouse, or that he would not serve*. The old rump would have smelled out the quiet opinion of the people long and long ago. Dear De Vear knows, perhaps, well enough, what the people have long been thinking, and what they have been talking about; but "*Dear DE VEAR*" has not had the skill to let him know this, without seeming to perceive that he did let him know it. "*Dear DE VEAR*" has always approached him with a due sense of the profound respect due to twenty

thousand acres of land; and wanting the skill to *drop* words from which he might *gather* disagreeable truths, has not had the courage to state them to him; so that, at last, he is likely to end, by being the dupe of his own cunning and of his own aristocratical insolence combined.

In the way of *remark* upon the above proceedings, the first thing is, the falseness and baseness of the *reporters*. The reptiles tell you that "*nothing could be heard*;" and yet *they could hear* the speeches of these two horrible vagabonds! I know, and could produce evidence upon oath, that these reptiles did not hear *any one sentence* of that which they here appeared to have heard delivered by these two fellows. If you look at the thing you will be convinced that the two fellows must have written out what is here printed as their speeches. It is a base falsehood on the part of the *Morning Chronicle*, that is to say, on the part of BLACK, or CLEMENT, or both: it is an infamous falsehood to represent the two caitiffs as ever having been heard at all, at more than seven or eight feet from their mouths. So that here is this base press doing all it can to save them: the old "*Bloody*," keeping *Justice JACK* and BURDETT's *Berkshire votes* in view; and yet, attending to the *main chance*, does not know what to be at; stupid old *Chronicle*, from other motives, is much about in the same muzzled state; and thus, as far as these base newspapers are concerned, the people are informed of no truth; they are told no truth relative to this matter, and they are left to *infer* that which is false. But the people are not to be thus duped: they do not draw the false inference: they perceive the truth, through the veil made use of to hide it; and, though they have had no means of making it known that they do see the truth, they do see it, and they act upon it; and the base newspapers do, in fact, no harm, except to the impostors themselves. They make them believe, that they are successful in cheating the people: they make them believe, that the people are deceived by them; and thus it is that every ministry goes on, until at last the explosion of public

opinion comes and blows them up. WELLINGTON laughed, I dare say, at the idea of his being unpopular; he laughed at all my warnings, until the very moment that the stones of the street came whizzing about his head: he would not believe that he was not popular, till he was obliged to clap his spurs, in order to avoid being knocked off his horse. Thus it has always been; the base newspapers have, at last, *duped nobody but the insolent, arrogant, aristocratical wretches themselves*. And this is now just the case of HOBHOUSE and BURDETT, who have, in fact, wheedled and intrigued with the base newspapers, for no other purpose than that of deceiving themselves; and I dare say, that they were just as much astounded at the "OFF, OFF, OFF," "DOWN, DOWN, DOWN," at the Crown and Anchor, last Monday, as WELLINGTON was, when he escaped through the Park, and got home with one of his eyes closed up with mud. But these two *sots* (I mean in the French sense of the word); these two presumptuous sots might, one would have thought, have formed something like a correct judgment from the *cabbage and turnip-pelting of August, 1830*. Would not anybody, who had not been actually infatuated, have asked themselves, *how this pelting came to take place?* How it came to pass, that they were *pelting upon their own dunghill?* They saw no man that was at all a leader in politics; they saw no man there that they could call their enemy; they could trace the hostility to no particular source; even if it had been alleged (as it never was) that the peltings were *instigated or hired*, still it was a monstrous multitude to be instigated or hired by any private person, or by any number of private persons. In short, such a course was impossible; and if these fellows had not suffered themselves to be duped by their own cronies and pot-companions, the newspaper scoundrels, they would have said to themselves: "Ah! faith, we must take care; we have got away with whole bones, to be sure; but this is the voice of the *people*; it is the *people* who have pelted us with cabbages

"and turnips: attempt to disguise it as much as our newspaper cronies may please, the fact is, that we have been pelted off *by the people*; and this being the case, we must change our course, or never show our faces here again." This is what they would have said to themselves, had they not been buoyed up by the success of that presumption, mixed with political fraud, which they had been practising so long, and the success of which had, indeed, been secured by the skill, conduct, and the industry of the experienced and watchful rump.

It appears from what the base *reporthers* have put forth as the spoken speech of little SANCHO, that this precious pair of politicians were deceived afresh by what took place at the *last election*; for, little doddler is made to say, "that the *answer* to the charge of his being a placeman *has been given by the electors themselves*;" that is to say, by their *having rechosen him without any opposition*. Poor little soul! What! he does not know, then, that the people wanted him and the "old chaise horse," merely to vote for the Reform Bill! He does not perceive this. He does not perceive, that it was an election purely for carrying the Reform Bill; and that, as this pair of politicians had pledged themselves to the Reform Bill, that was all that was wanted of them; but that now, a great deal more is wanted of them, and, therefore, they are not now to be chosen *without pledging themselves to that and a great deal more*.

Thus have these fellows been the dupes of their newspaper cronies, who led them to believe, that they were the two most popular men in the kingdom. I have now great experience with regard to the workings of this infamous London-newspaper press. I have seen, not less than a score of men, who, each in his day, attained to wonderful popularity by the means of this all-infamous, all-accursed press; and I have seen every one of those men come down, at last, covered with disgrace; sink into the grave with an infamous epitaph, or buried alive in still more disgraceful oblivion. It has been my good fortune;

a merciful God has been graciously pleased so to order it, with regard to me, that I have, from the very moment that I set my foot on English ground, a little better than thirty-two years ago; from the very moment that my foot came again upon my native land, I have been an object, constantly an object of the foulest calumny, the most impudent lies, the most atrocious attempts at destruction on the part of this most infamous thing, the London daily press; made use of, too, more by this pair of baffled political empirics, than by any other pair in the kingdom. And, *what has been the result?* Ah, "old chaise horse!" what would you now give had you never acted a base part towards me? But, what would you give, had you never been an object of praise with this infamous press? You are *cunning*, and have acted a *cunning* part. You have hugged yourself, for a long while, in contemplating the success of your cunning; and you have revelled with delight, while you saw the bloody broad-sheeted monsters tearing away at me. But how stands the matter NOW? You now begin to think, I dare say, of repeating the prayer of the double-faced BALAAM: "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like *his*." No, no! was the answer; you have enjoyed the fruit of your hypocrisy and your greediness. You have lived the life of the wicked; and your last end is not to be that of the righteous. You have had the praises of the accused newspapers; and now you are to taste the natural fruits. Even you, as long as you were calumniated by the newspapers, were not only safe, not only popular, but you were deservedly so: the moment they began to praise you, you began to descend towards that mud in which you now find yourself up to your very eyes. They began to praise you the moment you showed yourself to be false to the cause of reform; the moment you abandoned to their fate, those poor men whom you had urged to come forth and expose themselves to the fangs of SIDMOUTH and CASFLEREAGH; the whole of the history of which I will now republish

as quickly as I can, beginning with the next number of the *Register*; and there is Mr. FITTON of ROYTON and Mr JOHN KNIGHT of OLDHAM, and scores of others, still alive to bear witness to the cruelties produced by your conduct of 1817.

I have now to remark, my friends, FIRST, on the *manner of reporting* the above proceedings at the Crown and Anchor; SECOND, on the manner of carrying the resolutions; THIRD, on BURDETT's doctrine with regard to the *fitness of placemen to be members of Parliament*; FOURTH, on what the brace of cocks say about there being *no necessity for putting pledges to tried men*.

FIRST, with regard to the manner of reporting these proceedings, I have merely once more to beg my readers to observe, that the speeches of the cabbage-pelted heroes, must have been written out by themselves, and sent to their friends, the *reporters*, or to their friends, BLACK or CLEMENT; because I can produce evidence upon oath, that a very quick-hearing and well-informed gentleman, standing at from seven to twelve feet from them, could not hear distinctly one single word that either of them uttered. All he could gather was, that they were in great agitation, in a state of great rage, and that they were moving their mouths as if uttering words. Therefore, these pretended speeches are a sheer fabrication, put forth for the purpose of making persons at a distance believe that there was a something like a hearing, at any rate, and that the opposition was merely *partial*. I beg this to be borne in mind; for it is very material, with regard to the *prospect* which the *shoy-hoys* have before them. If such were their reception, at a select meeting of the electors, called by themselves, and in a room, what will be their reception before the honest and unbiassed people! The "old chaise-horse" has put this question to himself long before now; and he has, by this time, sense enough to give himself the proper answer. Never will he appear upon the WESTMINSTER hustings again. There is but one more

dip for him ; that is to be guarded to and from the hustings at COVENT-GARDEN by a troop of long soldiers upon fat horses, with strong swords, and with carabines and pistols in their holsters. This is his last dive ; this is that dive below the bottom ; that "lower deep in the lowest deep" of which the poet speaks ; but from this he will be saved, if Lord GREY be not totally bereft of his senses.

SECOND, the manner of passing the resolutions. We have before, upon many occasions, seen great and flagrant partiality in the performing of this sort of work. We have many times seen the infamous newspapers reporting resolutions to have been carried, when every soul present knew very well that they were not carried. We saw the infamous London newspapers report, that the *address* to the Prince Regent and to the Parliament, *thanking them for the dungeon and gagging bills* ; we have seen the infamous newspapers report, that this address, from a county meeting, in Hampshire, was "*carried*," when it was well known to the whole country, that it was never even *put to the meeting* : we have seen this all-infamous press, carrying on its trade of this sort for the last thirty years ; but, never before did we see the base thing frankly and boldly record that the resolutions were "*carried*," when, it reports at the same time, that *there was a great majority against them*. This "T. DUNCOMBE" must be an invaluable treasure to the DON and his man ! The *report* says, it was moved "that the electors of WESTMINSTER ought to support Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and the Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN CAM HOBBHOUSE ;" and that "there was a "great majority against this motion. The *chairman* decided, "THAT THE MOTION WAS CARRIED !" Well done, "T. DUNCOMBE." They need give themselves no trouble to look out for a new Speaker : you have proved your fitness for that office. The truth is, they were compelled to decide in this manner, *or to give up the contest at once*. It was a meeting of their own calling ; the room was lined by BURDETT's committee ; that

numerous committee attended *with wands in their hands* ; they guarded the two *shoy-hoys*, Squire DUNCOMBE, BARBER BEAUMONT, and the rest of the miserable group, into the room ; and they placed themselves upon the platform for the purpose of giving the signals for clapping and cheering. Therefore, if the resolutions, brought forward by the bottle-holders of the shoy-hoys, *had not been passed*, all was over, and the only remedies remaining were, dangling from a willow, or a deep dive into the merciful flood. It was absolutely necessary to give the thing up at once, or to pass the resolutions ; and the performance of this desperate duty fell upon TOMMY DUNCOMBE, whom (there being other DUNCOMBES) we will, in future, distinguish by the name of Mr. SPEAKER DUNCOMBE ; for he is a very paragon of all speakers. Notwithstanding all this, we shall see "*Dear DE VEAR*" *advertise* these resolutions as carried ! We shall see them put forth as an official document, founded in unquestionable truth ; and, so infatuated are men in their anxious hope to avoid destruction, that I should not at all wonder, if the *shoy-hoys, after paying*, expressly, for the inserting of these lies, were themselves, *seeing them in print*, to believe them to be truths. At the very least they will believe that the public will believe them to be truths ; and that is quite enough to ensure their discomfiture.

THIRD, on BURDETT's doctrine with regard to the fitness of placemen to be members of Parliament.

BURDETT DETECTED.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

London, 23. November, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONGST all the instances of political turpitude ; all the instances of barefaced, shameless, odious, inconsistency, which we have witnessed within the last twenty years, none has been so flagrant, so barefaced, and so utterly shameless, as that inconsistency of which Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now stands convicted from his own lips and his own pen. He assumed, in his speech

at the Crown and Anchor, on Monday the 26. instant, that there was no objection against Sir JOHN CAM HOBBHOUSE, except that of his being a PLACEMAN; and, on that assumption he falls to abusing those who act upon that objection, which, he says, is "*founded on no public principle, and on no valid reason*;" and then, he says, that those are "*impostors*" who put forward such grounds of objection.

Now, gentlemen, electors of WESTMINSTER, let us see who, in this case, is the impostor. Let us first take the words of the speech as delivered in the Crown and Anchor last Monday; and then, let us take his words, as given, and published from under his own handwriting and with his own signature to them, at the approach of the general election in the year 1806. I say, published from under his own hand, and under his own signature.

"*Speech at Crown and Anchor, Monday,*
" *November 26, 1832.*

"It is to me a source of deep regret
" that friends should now be dividing
" and separating, as I can understand, on
" *no public principle, on no ground that*
" *can be stated, for no valid reason*;
" that the whole complaint against his
" right honourable colleague, and which
" seemed to have caused the clamour
" that had taken place at the meeting
" that day, was, that SIR JOHN WAS
" IN OFFICE. What! he would ask,
" was it to be said *that an honest man*
" *could never be in office*; that he could
" hold *no public situation* without being
" a foe to the people? He could assure
" the meeting, that, if they had listened
" to arguments like these, they would
" be imposed upon by *those impostors*
" who had *heretofore imposed upon*
" *them.*"

Now, gentlemen, hear what the same Baronet said upon this same subject, in a letter addressed by him to Mr. PAULL on the 3. of October, 1806, and published in all the newspapers in a few days after that. At this time, Mr. Fox having died, an election was about to take place. Lord PERCY and Mr. SHERIDAN were the intended candidates. A com-

mittee of the electors had met, and had resolved, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT should be invited to be a candidate, in order to throw both of the others aside; and, Mr. PAULL, as chairman of the committee, having written to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT to request him to suffer himself to be put in nomination for WESTMINSTER, Sir FRANCIS, in a written answer to Mr. PAULL, declined, upon the following grounds:

"It is, however, impossible for me
" to be a candidate upon the present
" occasion; for I did very early declare,
" to numerous applications, and afterwards, as a single and private elector;
" I did declare, that I would give my
" vote for Lord PERCY; and I did so,
" because, I had heard of no other candidates, but such as had *recently accepted of lucrative offices under the*
" *Crown*; and I cannot think that such
" gentlemen, *however fitted for those*
" *offices, and however otherwise estimable,* can, at ANY TIME, become
" *the fit representatives of a free, uncor-*
" *rupt, and independent people.*"

No comment is necessary to men of sense. Here is the answer to his speech at the Crown and Anchor on Monday last. This he wrote, you will perceive, at the time of the WESTMINSTER election, consequent upon the death of Mr. Fox. When, in a few weeks afterwards, the general election came on, Sir FRANCIS was a candidate for *Middlesex*; and having issued a circular letter to all the electors of *Middlesex*, one of which, of course, went to Mr. WHITBREAD; Mr. WHITBREAD wrote him an answer, in which answer he called him to account for the above passage in his letter to Mr. PAULL, asserting, that any man who held such opinions concerning members of Parliament having places, must either want the *power* or the *will* to reason upon the consequences of such doctrine; or, to use BURDETT's own interpretation of the words, must either be a *fool* or a *knave*. WHITBREAD having published this answer, BURDETT, in an address to the freeholders of *Middlesex*, maintained *his own doctrine*; and, by implication, called all those plunderers who denied

the soundness of his doctrine ; which doctrine was, observe, " that no man " who was in office, however fit for his " office, and however estimable in other " respects, could, *at any time*, become " a fit representative of a free, uncor- " rupt, and independent people." This letter of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was in the following words. Read them, electors of Westminster ! read these words ; and then recollect, that this same Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now tells you, that nothing but "*impostors*" will tell you, that a man is unfit to represent you, because he has got a place under the crown ! Read the letter ; let the Baronet read it ; and then let him be surprised, if he can, at the indignation which you expressed at his conduct on Monday last.

" *Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the " Freeholders of Middlesex, after the " Close of the Election, on the 27. " Nov., 1806.*

" GENTLEMEN,—The moment before " the commencement of the late elec- " tion for Middlesex, Mr. WHITBREAD, " in a manner most unbecoming his sta- " tion, connexions, and character, in- " serted in the public newspapers the " following passage, signed with his " name ; addressed indeed nominally, " with dissembled respect to me ; but " intended as a political electioneering " manoeuvre against you :—" I do not " perceive in your present address " (says Mr. Whitbread) any allusion " to an opinion promulgated by you " on the late election for Westminster, " which is, *that a person holding an " office under the Crown, however " otherwise estimable, cannot at any " time become a fit representative of " a free, uncorrupt, and independent " people.*" If such opinion be " founded in truth, which (continues " Mr. Whitbread) I utterly deny, a " law ought to be passed to exclude " all the executive servants of Govern- " ment from seats in either house of " Parliament. I have not heard that " it was in the contemplation of any " one to propose such a measure ; " and, if proposed, I am sure it would

" meet with resistance from all de- " scriptions of persons, who have the " power or the will to reason upon its " consequences. The people, by the " acceptance of your doctrine, would " reduce themselves to the hard " necessity of being governed by the " worst of mankind."—These, Mr. " Whitbread's sentiments, have like- " wise been recently paraded by Mr. " Windham, Secretary of State ; by Mr. " Tierney, Chairman of the Board of " Control ; by Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer " of the Navy ; and are now held, I pre- " sume, as the political creed of the " whole party.—*Gentlemen*, in that act " of Parliament (12 and 13 Will. 3.) " which gave the throne of these king- " doms to his present Majesty, and his " family, entitled—" An act for the " further limitation of the crown, and " better securing the rights and liber- " ties of the subject,"—it was wisely " and honestly thus enacted—" That no " person who has an office or place of " profit under the King, or receives a " pension from the Crown, shall be " capable of serving as a member of " the House of Commons."—But Mr. " Whitbread, it seems, never heard of " this provision—" for better securing " the rights and liberties of the sub- " ject." And because, after a melan- " choly experience of the necessity of " such a provision, which our honest " ancestors only foresaw, I maintain the " opinion of those from whom his Ma- " jesty holds his crown, I am represent- " ed, by these best of patriots, as an " enemy to the constitution, and by " some of their place-holding and place- " hunting party, as a traitor to my " country. The worst of traitors to " their country are those who eat up its " resources. Mr. Whitbread's judg- " ment upon us who hold this opinion, " is indeed something milder ; he only " concludes us to be either fools or " rogues,—either we have not the " power or the will to reason upon its " consequences."—I have reason to " believe that Mr. Whitbread himself " possesses both the *will* and the *power* " to obtain speedily a lucrative office " under the crown, without much em-

"barrassing himself with the conse-
 "quences to the public.—GENTLEMEN,
 "when the last additional taxes for
 "the present year were lately imposed
 "upon the people by these best of pa-
 "triot, it was undisguisedly and tran-
 "quilly acknowledged by them, with-
 "out the least compunction, or com-
 "miseration of the people, that the
 "necessary effect of these taxes would
 "be, to drive the inhabitants of a house
 "into lodgings, and the lodgers of a
 "first floor into the second. Here, in-
 "deed, they stopped; leaving us to
 "complete the miserable picture of na-
 "tional calamity: viz. that the lodgers
 "of the second floor must mount up
 "into the garret, the garretier descend
 "into the cellar; whose former wretch-
 "ed inhabitant must be thrust out upon
 "the pavement, and from thence trans-
 "ferred to the workhouse or the grave.
 "And this process is to be repeated
 "*toties quoties*: so that the best pro-
 "vided amongst us cannot tell where
 "himself and his family may be found
 "at last. This is a hard lesson for
 "Englishmen to hear. It is harder
 "still to hear it enforced from the
 "mouths of those, who themselves are
 "all the while creeping forward from
 "their original garrets into palaces.
 "Such an unfeeling insult as this would
 "never have taken place but amidst
 "placemen and pensioners. Had they
 "been really the representatives of the
 "people, they would have felt some-
 "thing for the people; and, instead of
 "incessantly calling for fresh sacrifices,
 "and telling us gaily that we must
 "retrench even part of our necessa-
 "ries," they would surely now at last
 "have held out to us some prospect of
 "consolation and redress; they would
 "no longer continue to gorge upon the
 "vitals of their country, but would
 "think themselves too well off, if they
 "were not justly compelled to disgorge
 "their past infamous swallowings.—
 "GENTLEMEN, in becoming a candidate
 "at the late election for your county, I
 "do acknowledge, that I rather sought
 "a public, than a seat in Parliament. I
 "sought for, and have found, amongst
 "you, freeholders who would vote for

"themselves, and not for any candidate
 "—who would not give their votes as a
 "favour conferred, but as a sacred trust
 "reposed in an honest man, to enable
 "him to stem the torrent against these
 "venal coalition Whigs, who are, by
 "their own avowal, hunting the peo-
 "ple of this country from the second
 "floor to the garret.—That this system
 "of corruption and oppression may
 "cease, is the only ardent wish, and,
 "in spite of every calumny, shall ever
 "be the constant and unremitting en-
 "deavour of, Gentlemen, your most
 "obedient and respectful humble ser-
 "vant.

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

BURDETT said, on his dunghill at the
 Crown and Anchor, in 1818, that I
 had accused him of many things, and
 that I had foretold *what he would be-
 come at last*; that "he did not know
 "but that he might not, at last, become
 "an oyster;" but that I could not say
 "that he was not a consistent politician,
 at any rate." Ah, old chaise-horse!
 now we have you on the hip; here is
 your *consistency*. WHITEHEAD chal-
 lenged you on account of this very ad-
 dress; and you authorised BRAND (now
 Lord DACRE) to state that you had not had
 the most distant intention to say anything
 that could be construed into personal
 disrespect to WHITEHEAD; and if your
 words did bear such interpretation, you
 begged to assure him, that your words
 expressed that which was contrary to
 your "*meaning and intention*." Just
 a second chapter of the crib-affair with
 CANNING! But, at any rate, you cannot
 deny that this quarrel arose, out of your
 having most positively asserted, "that
 "no man holding a lucrative office un-
 "der the Crown, however fitted for
 "that office, and however otherwise
 "estimable, could, AT ANY TIME,
 "become the fit representative of free,
 "uncorrupt, and independent people."
 You said, that WHITEHEAD called you
fool or knave for holding this doctrine;
 you maintained the soundness of the
 doctrine, and, at the same time, you
 accused WHITEHEAD of having a place

in view for himself; **WHITBREAD** *challenged you for this*; and you, to pacify the enraged brewer (whose family pretends to be of Norman descent), authorised **BRAND** to assure **WHITBREAD**, that, if your words did bear an interpretation disrespectful to **WHITBREAD**, they bore an interpretation "contrary to your meaning and intention," though, to every one who came near you at the time, you did not scruple to accuse **WHITBREAD** of the lowest and greediest designs with regard to the public. There you are then, now standing in your true light before the people; and this, fifteen years ago, I told you would be your lot at last, if you should live any considerable number of years.

FOURTH, on *what the brace of cocks say about there being no necessity for putting pledges to TRIED MEN*. Tried men! What do they mean by that? If, indeed, the men have been tried, and have acted agreeably to their former professions and promises; if they have *done anything to relieve the people from their burdens*; if they have laboured to reduce the standing army; diminish the number of barracks; to lop off the pensions, sinecures, and grants; if they have made an effort to expel placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons: if they have done these things, and many others, that all members of Parliament have been enabled to do; then, indeed, it may be not absolutely necessary to pledge them; but, if they have left undone all these things; and have done just the contrary; then, there is an absolute necessity, not to pledge them, indeed, *but to reject them altogether*; and, this is what the electors of **WESTMINSTER** must now do, or they must make but a very poor figure, a very mean figure, in the eyes of the country, which has now those eyes steadily fixed upon them. Whether **HOBHOUSE** has acted in a manner not to require pledging, might be gathered, without more ado, from the following questions and answers, handed about at the meeting on Monday, and which I will here insert before I proceed further.

1. Who voted against a motion, made in the last Session of Parliament, for the *suspension of flogging* in the army and navy for one year?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

2. Who *opposed* a motion made by *Col. Evans* to make a *small* reduction in the standing army in the time of peace?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

3. Who publicly declared in the House of Commons, in a discussion on the army estimates, that his opinions on *financial measures* and *economy*, differed as widely from the sentiments of *Mr. Hume* as "the poles were asunder?"

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

4. Who has *positively* refused to support or sanction in any way, the re-election of *Mr. Hume* for Middlesex?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

5. Who *smuggled* into and carried through the House of Commons, a private bill for imposing on his constituents, in the outward of *St. George's*, Hanover-square, a rate of 300 PER CENT., to be levied by an irresponsible body of trustees, in the interest of Lord Grosvenor?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

6. Who, *when out of office*, promised to bring in a bill to *reduce* the aristocratical qualification for *vestrymen*, and when *in office*, refused to perform it?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

7. Who positively refuses to give a *pledge* to the electors, that he will vote for and support the repeal of those obnoxious and oppressive duties, the *house* and *window taxes*?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

Leaving little **SANCIO** for the present, let us now turn to the **DON**; and see what he has done since the day when he reduced us to the necessity of excluding the brave little Scotchman, or of suffering the factions to triumph over us again. What has he done? What has he attempted to do? And, what did we put him into Parliament for, in the year 1807? We put him into Parliament because he told us that the factions united in enriching themselves out of the public spoil; that they regarded all plunder as lawful, so long as it was

kept in the regiment ; that they asserted that they had as good a right to their pensions, sinecures, and grants, as we had to the fruits of our industry, or to our inheritance from our ancestors ; that they were like a gang of robbers, combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants ; that the people ought to destroy the whole gang and abolish the combination ; that the people ought to unite and loudly pronounce the abolition of the whole present system of corruption ; that he himself would faithfully carry the sentiments of the people to the House of Commons ; and that, *no rational endeavour of his should be omitted to tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book.* The whole of the address has been inserted above, with day and date, and signature attached to it. I have here repeated the substance of it. These were the pledges he gave us ; it was on these grounds that we elected him, and that we were prevailed upon to exclude the brave and honest little Scotchman. Who, upon hearing these pledges ; upon hearing this language, could doubt of his sincerity, or fail to anticipate great efforts at his hands ? Yet he has not even attempted to do any good for us. The address which he moved in the House of Commons in 1812, and which supported his then declining popularity, I drew up ; I almost compelled him to move it ; and, (curious anecdote !) *I myself subscribed towards publishing an edition of the address* and his speech (made from notes furnished by me) and, I purchased a thousand copies, besides, and circulated at my own expense. This was the only blow that he ever aimed at the system. For the *grand blow* given to the system by the publication of the pension and sinecure-list, the nation has to thank my Lord COCHRANE, the "old chaise-horse" always having refused to move for it. For that other *grand blow*, which they received in the affair of Queen CAROLINE, the nation has to thank Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE and me. For the *grand blow* of all (the wounds from which will finally kill the system), we have to thank PEEL and his supporters, amongst

whom I must do "the chaise horse" the justice to say, that he was one ; to give the devil his due, he had his share in giving this blow ; though, as in the case of the enraged brewer, "it was wholly contrary to his meaning and intention."

I defy any man living to point out, even any effort of his to do good to the cause of the people. "Why did I support him, then, from 1807 to the end of 1816 ; why did I support him during these nine years ? Why did I praise him during that time, and then begin to expose him and attack him ?" *Why did Major CARTWRIGHT do both for that period and one year longer ?* I am aware that it may be said, that the *Major might be wrong, too.* He might ; but he was not. We both of us saw, in the year 1814 or 1815, how difficult it was to induce him to do any real good. The *Major* was a greater *hoper* than I was ; and he, in fact, kept me on longer than I should have kept on, if it has not been for persuasions, and for the great deference that I had for his opinions ; but, the fact was, we had nobody else ; and the false "chaise horse" knew it. For about five years, I think it was, I thought him sincere, but a political poltroon, and I knew him to be lazy beyond compare. For the rest of the time, I despaired of ever seeing any good come out of him. Still our only choice was to hang on to him, or to give up our cause altogether ; to proclaim it as abandoned, and to give the boroughmongers grounds for laughing at us and trampling us under foot. I, therefore, hung on, notwithstanding his sliding the back-way out of the Tower ; notwithstanding the firm conviction of my mind that he would never do anything ; until, in 1817, he, after having sent a circular all over the country to rouse the reformers to petition and to act, most basely abandoned them, and, while he kept his silence, suffered them to be crammed in dungeons, in which dungeons he never visited a single man of them ; not even Mr. HONE, who had got into jail for publishing a parody, in fact, for BURDETT himself ; for, I gave it to HONE,

commissioned so to do by BURDETT, who promised to take and pay for five hundred copies of the edition. Did he visit Mr. HONE; did he send assistance to him in prison? Let him answer these questions in the affirmative, before he again mounts the hustings of Westminster.

But, reserving myself, till next week, for a history of his incomparable baseness in the year 1817, let me again ask, "*Dear DE VEAR,*" or "*Dear POUNCET,*" or "*Dear TOM DUNCOMBE,*" to name one single thing that he has done, or attempted to do, in fulfilment of the *pledges*, in consequence of which WESTMINSTER chose him in 1807. Let us confine ourselves to *one pledge*; namely, "*No rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted to restore to my countrymen the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair fruits of their industry; and to tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book.*" Has he fulfilled *this* pledge; has he tried to tear out the "*accursed leaves*"? No, but he has assisted to put many leaves into that book; he has given his silent acquiescence to monstrous augmentations of the army; to those monstrous things the naval and military academies; to the Queen's dower, as he had done before to COBURG's pension; he has voted *sixteen hundred thousand pounds out of the taxes, to go as a gift to the clergy of the Church of England*, in addition to all their monstrous revenues in tithe, in lands, in mines, in manors, and other estates; he has never proposed, never even talked of, to put a stop to any of the *plunderings*, as he called them; and much less has he attempted to compel the plunderers "*to disgorge their past infamous swallowings*," according to the promise that he gave to the electors of MIDDLESEX, in 1806; he has, on the contrary, always been giving his assent to the additions made to the pensions, sinecures, grants, and every other thing of which the Red Book is made up; his last act; that of voting the late Speaker four thousand a year for life, and the son four thousand a year for his life, after the father, while the son has a sinecure of

three thousand a year, which he is to have in addition to his pension, as long as the father lives; and when the father has already pocketed, in salaries and fees, for fourteen years' speakership, *more money than all the seven Presidents of the United States have received since the establishment of their government*; this one act; his having voted and spoken in favour of loading this oppressed people with this charge; this one act, of so recent a date, so well known as it is, will stamp with everlasting infamy every elector of WESTMINSTER *who shall give this man his vote*. But in God's name, what can any man want more than his now insisting that the tax-eater, HOBHOUSE, the son of a thirty years' tax-eating father, the husband of a twenty-four years' tax-eating wife; what more do we want than this conduct, compared with his declarations above cited, which declarations it was that recommended him to the people of WESTMINSTER? What do we want MORE than this with regard to the "*chaise-horse*." As to HOBHOUSE, none but fools ever listened to his professions and promises. What was to be expected from him, but that which you have had. Brought up, fed, clothed, lodged, out of the taxes. Son of a father who was first a FOXITE, next an ADDINGTONIAN, next a PITTITE, next a coalition Whig, under GRENVILLE and GREY, next a Duke of PORTLAND-man, next a PERCEVAL-man, and next a LIVERPOOLITE, a CANNINGITE, a GODERICHITE, a WELLINGTONIAN, and then a coalition Whig again; thus sticking fast, and seeing ten Prime Ministers rise, and nine of them fall, while his inflexible mouth lay firmly glued to the tap-hole of the taxes, being both *brewer* and *banker* all the while. From such a sire one might venture to take the son without a character. That he never should have voted for taking off a pension is natural enough. He and the DON have been quietly voting a hundred a year of the public money into the pocket of *Lady Juliana*; and at last, little SANCHO marries the girl! and marries the money, too, as a matter of

course. 'Tis a pity that BURDETT is not single too. He has some pretty strong claims on the female part of the pension, sinecure, and grant list; for a pretty many millions of our money has been voted into their ladyships' pockets; and never, in *Parliament*, in the whole course of his life, did he object to the voting of any part of these millions, which he used to call "*plunderings and infamous swallowings*;" and we chose him for WESTMINSTER, because we thought it impossible that a man should be such a hypocrite, as to make use of these appellations without intending to destroy, utterly, the things that they described.

Thus have I, my friends of the North, done as much justice to this subject as my time would allow me to do. I shall return to it; and, if Dr. BLACK, do not openly take one side or the other, I will make a proper exposure of him and of his *balancing* concern. But, are we, now, on SURE GROUND? I do not know Colonel EVANS; I would rather that he were not a *Colonel*; I wish not to excite suspicions; but the devil take me if my readers shall be duped *this time*. I remember old Scabby SHERIDAN, putting up as a *shoy-hoy*, to transfer the city to the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND'S son. I will not suspect the sincerity of Colonel EVANS, because I have no knowledge that warrants the suspicion; but I do not like his compliments to BURDETT, which are not only exaggerated, but are absolutely false, owing, I ought to presume, to the Colonel's want of knowledge of the political history of the man. At any rate, it becomes the citizens of WESTMINSTER to act a cautious, and, at the same time, a resolute, part; it becomes them to show, that their city is no longer the tame tool in the hands of intriguing deceivers; it becomes them to retrieve their character, and again to exhibit an example to follow, and not a beacon to shun. They ought, without a moment's loss of time, to apply to Sir CHAS. WOLSLEY, to come and supplant the wriggling baronet. Sir CHARLES has been put in nomination for the north of Staffordshire, I believe;

but respectable as that is, it is at WESTMINSTER that he is wanted. In Sir CHARLES we have sound understanding, steadiness of purpose, perseverance, courage, and unconquerable attachment to the well-being of the common people. He was one of the great favourites of Major CARTWRIGHT; he used to say, "I like WOLSLEY, because he is unchangeable, because he is brave, and because he will stir." These are the qualities that we want. I beg Sir CHARLES to have the goodness to write to me as soon as he shall see this *Register*. He need not withdraw himself from Staffordshire: let them go on then and elect him there, too: they will then have time to think of a man proper to replace him, if he be chosen for WESTMINSTER, of which, if he come, I have not the smallest doubt.—I have no time for anything more at present, but just to say, that I hope that all that I have here said will be read with great attention.

WM. COBBETT.

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 26.

This day's supply of beasts was rather numerous, but, in great part, of middling and inferior quality; of sheep, calves, and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull, with beef, mutton, and pork, at, in most transactions, a depression of full 2d. per stone; with veal at barely Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns, Irish (principally) half-fat steers and heifers, and North Wales runts, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Herefordshire steers, cows, and heifers, chiefly from our western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

At least three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and various white-faced crosses; the remainder about equal numbers of South Downs, Kents, and Kentish half-breds; with a few horned and polled Norfolks, horned and polled Welch and Scotch sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 2,939; sheep, 17,460; calves, 120; pigs, 170.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 30.

The arrivals this week are short. The market for wheat is 1s. dearer than on Monday.

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